1:Herskovits & Herskovits E-5 (1928-1929) 1934
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Saramacca

see the shrines to the ancestors and gods. All about were the many houses of the Granman with the elaborately carved posts figuring his emblem. Under the shade trees the widow was pounding rice. She wore old clothes, and, since she would soon be out of mourning, they were almost in rags. The mourning band about her hair was also old.

The Granman's eyes must have followed ours, must have seen us study the outlines of the carving, and must have followed us to the shrines and the woman, for his voice changed, and now he repeated in a ruminating voice, "Yes, here we believe in kunu."

"Ya-hai!" was the noncommittal reply from his listeners.

The Granman looked now into the faces of his trusted chiefs. He looked steadily and long, searching in the semidarkness of the house for a betraying expression, as the chiefs sat on the low stools against the farther wall, their faces averted, as was seemly.

"Well, friends, kunu has made an end of my family. Is it not so? But the clan will go on. The clan's rule is not ended. Up and down the river tell them that, friends. Kunu has brought my family to an end. With me our family rule is finished. That is right. But the clan will go on."

The customary interpolations followed each phrase. Then singly the chiefs took their leave. Rising slowly, after they had received permission to depart, and with body bent, their hands touching their knees, each spoke his farewell.

In the light their ceremonially anointed bodies glistened like polished ebony. Swift and straight each made his way down the clearing and into a side path which led to the river, where the boats were fastened.

"Fine men, these," said the Granman to us after a silence. "And you, have you kunu in your country? . . . "

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But even after these and many more instances of kunu had come to us, and even though we had snatched a few sentences of explanation from one man and from another, the essential nature of kunu still eluded us. Was kunu, then,

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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man suing for peace, and the independence of the Djukas in their forest clearings.

As odo is used whenever the Bush Negroes desire secrecy, it is often difficult for the white man to get anyone to translate it for him. That deepee-talkee varies considerably from talkee-talkee may be seen from the comparison of the following words:

	Talkee-Talkee	*Deepee-Talkee*
child	pekein	meh
cicatrizations	cutty-cutty	cumum bah'
chicken	fow	ganee'ah
knife	nee'fee	fah'kah
leaf	wee'fee	pow uh' wee

It can be seen even from these few words that talkee-talkee is a simple, childlike speech, bearing a superficial resemblance to the baby-talk of English-speaking parents. The word for chicken, *fow*, is the English word "fowl" as any small child would be likely to pronounce it. Odo, on the other hand, is a more complicated and comprehensive language.

The English derivation of most of the following talkee-talkee words is apparent:

boat: *boto*
water: *watra*
tongue: *tongo*
current: *tonga watra* (strong water)
sandy: *santi*
ground: *gron*
country: *condree*
foot: *futu*
big: *gran* (French, *grand*)

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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192 finger: *finga*
toe: *gran finga*
ear: *yresee*
knee: *kinee*
eye: *woyo*
mouth: *buka* (Spanish, *boca*) or, *muffo, mussi*
nose: *nusee*
heart: *hatoo*
hand: *hanu*
belly: *beh*
breast: *bubbee*
hair: *oowee*
neck: *gunga*
ankle: *ago futu woyo* (the eye that keeps behind the foot)
nipple: *bubbee buka* (the mouth of the breast)
thigh: *asaqua*
buttocks: *gogo*
nails: *hunya*
teeth: *tandah* (Portuguese, *tanda*)

Other common words, some of which we have used before in phrases throughout this book, are:

canoe: *corial*
Bush Negro: *Djuka* (sometimes *Aucaner*)
wood carvings: *sanni* or *timbeh*
house: *osu* or *oso*
tobacco: *tabak*
toga: *asay sintee* or *camissa*
tapir: *bufra* (buffalo)
woman's cloth: *coyo*

The names of common Bush Negro implements are distributed about equally between odo and talkee-talkee, with a few words from the aboriginal Indian tongue:

stick or small paddle: *pow* (talkee-talkee)
paddle: *pada* (talkee-talkee)
stool: *bangki* (talkee-talkee)
bush knife: *buhfangee* (odo)
cassava squeezer: *matapee* (Indian)
fan: *wa wa'i* (Indian)

2: Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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hook: *tukusi* (odo or Indian)
knee band: *sepu* (odo or Indian)
paddle for washing knee bands: *sepu pow*

193

In making phrases and sentences, the verbs are not conjugated at all:

"Anga a killa me"—"I am hungry" (Hunger is killing me).
"Me nanga me ooma wannee bahkra fu makee sweetee mufio na da meh oso"—"I and my woman want the white man to come eat (make sweet mouth) at my house."
"Bahkra go nanga leeba"—"White man goes up the river."

A few sentences of talkee-talkee follow:

Neti de cun mekki we letti fai you.	Night is coming; light us a fire.
Go sidom en fu teli me fa you nanga you matti ben waka.	Sit down, and tell me how you and your friend have travelled.
Me fredui taki you de kori you srifi.	I am afraid you are fooling yourself.
Sam you sa do nah?	What will you do now?
Wo, me sah?	Who, myself? (Who, me?)
Me no sa tan dia.	I do not want to stay here.
Me prak seri fo go na Lombe.	I think I am going to Lombe.
Suma pekein data?	Whose child is that?
You wanni screevee wan breevee fu you matti.	You want to write a letter for your friend.
You savvy talkee-talkee, massra?	Do you understand talkee-talkee, master?
Pekein so, me savvy, matti.	I understand a little, friend.
Ah go kissi fissi.	I go to catch fish.
Tamara Ah sa go honti.	Tomorrow I shall go hunting.

2:Kahn D-5 (1922-1930) 1931
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177 The method of finding out who is responsible for the
[695] death of a man is found in many parts of the West Coast. The details vary considerably, but the essential idea that death is caused by witchcraft, and that some individual is guilty, is found in West Africa as well as in South America.
[764] The method of binding the corpse on a platform, covered with blankets of weeds, comes from the Gold Coast.

177 A number of Bush Negro words are African in origin.
● 192 *Lo,* the Djuka word for clan, designates a village in Yoruba or Ibo. The *quaqua,* the resounding plank which accompanies the drums, is possibly a Kikongo or M'pongwe word from the Ivory Coast. *Azeman,* meaning a kind of vampire, is an Ewe and Tshi word, as well as a Bush Negro term. The fetish house, the *kifunga,* is probably derived from Bacongo, Luango, Cameroons, or Togo, and the word itself is in all likelihood a Bacongo term. *Leeba,* meaning "river," is an Ewe word. *Akra,* designating a kind of ghost, is a Tshi word. *Makuku,* designating a Bush Negro fireplace made with three lumps of clay, is a Kikongo word, and the custom itself is derived from the Yoruba, Slave Coast, the lower Niger, and the Central and East Sudan region.

177 The carved wooden locks, the quintessence of Bush Negro
[323] wood carving, are found also among the Ashanti, in Dahomey, and in the Sudan. The method of poisoning fish by
[226] beating into a stream the pulp of poisonous plants is common in South America among the Indians, but it is likewise found in West Africa among the Tshi, Yoruba, Togo, Congo, and Angolo peoples. The same is true of other Djuka fishing practices, such as the custom of fishing at night by torchlight.

C E L R 101

Boni
Emerillon SQ8
Rucuyen SR12
Carib SR9
Locono SR10

/11 cont./

3) The autochthonous Indians are represented on the Maroni Basin by three groups:

C E [13] [162] [433] [177] [178]

—The Arawak and the Kalifia (Galibi) (about 500 persons) live downstream from Saint-Laurent; they live in symbiosis with the population of the city, whom they supply with fish and manioc. A century of contact with the Creole population has produced a certain alteration in their customs and traditional way of life, but the essentials of their tribal organization remain intact.

R [131] [162] [178]

—The Oayana /Oyana/ or Roucouyennes /Rucuyen/ (about 250 persons) live on the Litani upstream from the Boni with whom they are in close relationship. They have not undergone any alteration in their race or their way of life.

E [131]

—The Emerillon, who belong to the Tupi-Guarani group, form a small grouping on the way to extinction.

B 114

The Refugee Blacks. —Ethnic origin. No comprehensive anthropological study has as yet been undertaken on the Refugee Blacks. Not possessing the specialized knowledge necessary for tackling this study, we have left it entirely aside. Besides, we doubt that it would give important detailed information on the ethnic origin of the Refugee Blacks. Study of archive documents concerning the slave trade would certainly give more particulars; it is certain from now onwards that their origin is very diverse; the slave traders took on provisions principally on the coast of West Africa, but also in the Congo and in present-day Angola; the African words figuring in the present dialects come from the populations of these various regions. So it is not surprising to meet rather variable skull forms and statures among the Refugee Blacks.

B 175 144 [192]

B 141

The Refugee Blacks are in general of medium stature, that of the adult men being between 1 meter 60 and 1 meter 75; the average is a little below 1 meter 70.

/33 cont./

602 Patrilineal relationships have other important incidences which we shall bring to light in speaking of Boni beliefs. From the point of view of social structure, let us note:

[182] — That patrilineal relationship has no influence upon residence or organization of material living;

[582] — That the law of exogamy which it involves has only slight influence on the freedom of choice of couples; because of the relatively large number of patrilineages.

[601] As far as the ties of patrilineal kinship are known (in general people do not go beyond their grandfather), the same kinship terms are used as in the matrilineage, with the same classificatory value.

601 613 Appellations. We have seen that within the matrilineage the kinship appellations depend only on the number of generations with respect to the foundress.

Speaking familiarly, they use for addressing:

— People of the same generation, the expression — ba So-and-so... (man) sa So-and-so (woman)

— — of one generation above, the expression — tiyu, uncle tiya, aunt

— — of two generations above, the expression — papa mama.

[192] /34/ Papa does not mean father, but ancient, honorable. Likewise, mama means aged and respectable woman.

For example, to say good day they will say, according to the case, ba So-and-so, ɔdio, or tiyu, ɔdio.

[551] In speaking to people one generation below, they say mati (comrade) or call them by their name without any other appellation, which would be considered very insolent in addressing their "brothers" or "uncles."

688 /247 cont./
689 attenuated form of wisi; in serious cases the grand man may inflict a severe punishment on the guilty ones.

789 ɔbia. The Refugee Blacks use the word ɔbia (1) to designate

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1. The term ɔbia is used by the Refugee Blacks when they are speaking to outsiders, to designate positive magic, but in reality this term has a very different meaning in their language. It designates any kind of magic action, negative as well as positive; likewise the term ɔbiamã has the sense of sorcerer as well as that of holder of a remedy.

192 The Boni among themselves use the word deesi, remedy, instead of ɔbia. They do not use the word deesimã in place of ɔbiamã. It is said, for example, of a man who knows the rites of a cult of possession "A sabi Papa gadu sani" (he knows the things of Papa gadu).

[787] The term gadumã designates one who is possessed of a god, and not one who knows how to bring on possession.

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114 In the rest of this work we shall continue, nevertheless, to use the terms ɔbia and ɔbiamã to designate positive magic, in order to facilitate collation with the English- and Dutch-language authors who have used it in this sense.